

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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FOURPENCE

## Peace Pledge Union calls for nation-wide appeal to MPs DO NOT RATIFY GERMAN TREATY

### Neutral, unarmed Germany would aid world peace

— Pacifist leader tells U.S. Senate

THE National Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mr. A. J. Muste gave evidence before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 17 against the plans for the re-militarisation of Germany. He said:

"The US State Department is saying that under circumstances where it is not possible to incorporate all of Germany in the US defence sphere, it will aid and abet the splitting of Germany into two parts rather than not have available the manpower of Western Germany and the critically extensive resources of the Ruhr for use by the American military in case of need. . . ."

#### A measure of Russia's anxiety

"If the division of Germany becomes a fact and each part is re-armed under mutually hostile and suspicious auspices—Russia, on the one hand, and the United States, on the other—this means that the cleavage between East and West has been driven deeper.

"There is another frontier, such as in Korea, which in the nature of the case is unstable, which can be maintained only by vast and expensive forces which unceasingly watch each other and maintained only until these forces—by accident or design or a combination of the two—are unleashed and proceed to annihilate each other.

Mr. Muste remarked that the Russian proposal for a "neutralised," independent, united and armed Germany was equally a war and not a peace measure. That, after the experience of Nazi savagery in World War II, Russia should propose that an autonomous Germany be reconstituted and armed was simply a measure of what a high price Russia is prepared to pay to Germany and the resources of the Ruhr keep the manpower or even a part unavailable for the United States and its allies.

#### A Threat of world peace

Mr. Muste advocated a united disarmed, neutralised Germany under some form of temporary United Nations administration. He went on to remark, however, that the trouble with this proposal was that if Russia and the United States were prepared to agree to the disarmament and genuine neutralisation of a country so large as Germany and of such crucial importance from the standpoint of the global struggle for power, then they would also be ready for a global peace settlement and for the establishment of a genuine world organisation.

There was no evidence that either the Russian government or the government of the United States was so prepared.

The way out of the dilemma was the Christian way. "It proceeds on the assumption that there is evil to be overcome; and it cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good—a very great, imaginative, costly good."

#### COMMENT

### Greetings to Gromyko

NO problem in international politics, whether it be that of Germany or Korea can be settled in isolation.

Peace depends upon the lessening of the tension between East and West and a better understanding between the two. We therefore welcome the appointment of Mr. Gromyko as the Soviet Ambassador to this country.

That the appointment is significant is indicated by the suggestion that his purpose will be to attempt to play off Britain against America.

We prefer to believe, with Mr. Herbert Morrison, that the appointment presents the opportunity to end the "dreary and dangerous chapter of the last five years" and make possible a better understanding and happier relations between ourselves and Russia.

### Suppression of public opinion continues

"Believing that the Contractual Agreement with Germany constitutes a new danger to peace, endangers the possibility of a united German Government and is in opposition to the general wish of the German people;

"We urge HM Government to refuse to ratify the Agreement and instead to seek through a meeting of the Four Powers the acceptance of conditions necessary to provide for the free election of an all-German government and a peace treaty which would guarantee through a united disarmed Germany both the legitimate rights of the German people and security for her neighbours."—Resolution for the Peace Pledge Union's Trafalgar Square Demonstration, July 6, 1952.

THE Peace Pledge Union is to make its Trafalgar Square meeting on July 6 a demonstration against the signing of the Contractual Agreements and German rearmament.

The meeting will be addressed by Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates, Dr. Alex Comfort and others and will be asked to endorse the above resolution which the PPU Executive will forward to the Government.

An appeal has gone out from PPU headquarters to all Groups and members in Britain asking for the utmost pressure to be brought to bear on MPs by deputations, letters, and public meetings.

## DANES REFUSE VISAS TOO

THE Conference on "The Peaceful Solution of the German Problem," held in Odense, Denmark, on June 13-15, had to be held without the German and East European delegates. After a long session, the Danish Cabinet decided to withhold their visas.

Originally the conference was to have been held in Paris; the meeting place was changed when no assurance was forthcoming from the French Government that visas would be granted. It was not anticipated that the Danish Government would create any such difficulties.

The conference was called by an international committee with the intention of bringing together representatives of West and East Germany, Britain, and the countries bordering on Germany.

Over 100 delegates from nine countries attended. Some 40 German delegates met simultaneously in Hamburg and messages were exchanged between the two gatherings.

#### Grave menace to peace

The conference opened with a speech from M. Domenach, the Editor of L'Esprit (and one of the prime movers in the project) in which he outlined the situation and the purpose of the gathering.

Most of the conference consisted of open sessions in which many different points of view were put, within the general agreement that the Contractual Agreement and the European Defence Treaty represented a new and grave menace to peace.

Two commissions worked on a scheme for future action and on the text of a statement (see page two) which the conference subsequently discussed and finally approved unanimously.

In regard to future plans, it was agreed that it was essential to hold a further conference in the immediate future at which the Germans could be present, and a delegation was appointed to meet the German members and agree on the best venue.

Each national group was asked to take all possible steps in their own circumstances to bring the warning of the conference to the notice of their governments and to arouse public opinion to demand that neither the Contractual Agreement nor the European Defence Treaty should be ratified, and that a peaceful solution of the German problem could and must be found.

The British members present were John Elton (barrister); Phillips Burrell (Authors' World Peace Appeal); Corder Catchpool (Peace Committee of the Society

#### No passports for Partisans

Because their "proposed travel would not be in the interests of the United States," passports were recently refused to three Americans, Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois and Howard Fast who wished to travel to Uruguay for a conference organised by the Partisans of Peace.

of Friends); James Coleman (London Fire Brigade Union); Edward Dixon (British Peace Committee); Alex Moffat and John Wood (National Union of Scottish Miners); J. MacDougall and Reginald Ward (Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers); Monica Whateley and Stuart Morris (National Peace Council).

Protests have been lodged following the refusal of a transit visa to Stuart Morris reported in Peace News last week.

Members of the British delegation are meeting in London to discuss future plans as this report goes to press.

(The German Problem—page two)

### THE PPU AND Mr. A. J. KEMP "Statements unjustified" Ex-Mayor admits

IN view of the repeated attacks made by him on the integrity of the Peace Pledge Union, Mr. A. J. Kemp, at that time the Mayor of Bermondsey, was asked to substantiate or withdraw his accusations.

Failure on his part to do so caused the PPU to put the matter in the hands of their solicitors, as a result of which Mr. A. J. Kemp has now agreed to the publication of the following statement, and has also agreed to pay all the costs involved:

"In February and March reports were given in the South London Press of a controversy between the then Mayor of Bermondsey, Mr. Alfred J. Kemp, on the one hand, and the Rev. James Adams, Chairman of the Bermondsey Branch of the Peace Pledge Union, on the other.

"Various statements were made by Mr. Kemp which would give the impression that, although this did not apply to Mr. Adams, the Peace Pledge Union as a whole was associated with Communism and was an organisation influenced and used by the Communists.

"The Peace Pledge Union challenged Mr. Kemp either to substantiate or to withdraw these statements and offered him access to their records for this purpose.

"Mr. Kemp is now satisfied that the statements he made about Communist influence were quite unjustified and accepts the fact that the Peace Pledge Union is a body of genuine pacifists whose beliefs are fundamentally different from the doctrines of the Communist Party.

"He is also satisfied that the Peace Pledge Union, having long been conscious of the possibility of peace movements being used as a cloak for Communist activities, have taken every reasonable precaution and have successfully safeguarded their movement against this danger."

#### Tribunal in a stern mood

## WHAT WOULD THEY HAVE SAID TO LLOYD GEORGE?

By MARY WILLIS

THE London Tribunal was in a stern mood last Friday, and turned down nine of the thirteen National Servicemen who applied for registration as conscientious objectors, and two out of four Z-reservists.

So captious were members that when the Chairman, Sir Gerald Hargreaves, remarked that Lloyd George's opposition to the Boer War was a good example of a conscientious objection to a particular war, a witness commented:

"If Mr. Lloyd George had been before you gentlemen, he might have found it difficult to convince you of his objections."

Among the few successful applicants was James L. Donovan of Chelmsford, a member of the Church of England, who said in his statement:

"I cannot believe that man has the right to determine whether a human being should suffer pain or death through his act. I am certain that the human race would suffer less pain by adopting a policy of non-resistance than by armed resistance to what they believe to be wrong."

Mr. Tudor Davies told him that he was mistaken in saying that killing in war was murder, to which the applicant replied: "It is killing with intent."

"For what purpose?" asked the Rev. Professor James.

"For a selfish purpose," was the answer. "He is killing because he is told to kill by the State; for preserving his own way of life, I suppose, but I think it should be done in another way."

Leonard Philp, a carpenter and joiner, of Hove, Sussex, who served in the Royal Artillery from 1947 to 1949, said: "I started thinking and worrying overnight, and could not sleep, and I thought what is causing this killing, this slaughtering all over the world. I came to the conclusion that it is not God's fault, it is man's fault himself." Leonard Philp said he had bought a Bible,

and was studying it. What had struck him particularly was the commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

He was recommended for registration as a CO.

#### Refused to join Cadet Force

James Donovan, who was able to tell the Tribunal that he had refused to join the Cadet Force at his grammar school, was granted exemption on condition of doing land, hospital, forestry or building work.

Among the many unsuccessful applicants were several Jehovah's witnesses. They included one man who said he thought Jehovah would never order him to fight with carnal weapons, and others who said that they would think it right to fight in a war ordained by Jehovah, neither of which statements satisfied the Tribunal.

Donald Bradford, a Socialist, of Acton, was told that he had not thought sufficiently about the subject, and Robert Cook, a Communist of Chingford, was told that the Tribunal could not grant exemption to people who were prepared to fight in one war for one cause, but not in another war for another cause.

### India's frontier would need 1,500,000 troops

"It sometimes irks Americans to see India and Communist China on terms that are diplomatically friendly," writes Devere Allen, Editor of America's Worldover Press. "But if Nehru were to go all-out for the West, and had to undertake the task of guarding the Chinese frontier, experts estimate this would require 1,500,000 troops. India couldn't equip such a force, and would have to turn to the US."

"Is Washington ready to make such an outlay of money and technicians? If not, then the constant talk about not being satisfied with Nehru's 'middle of the road programme' is nothing but irresponsible unreason."

## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
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27th June, 1952.

### CRUCIAL MONTHS AHEAD

**I**F Mr. Eden is really concerned to obtain a fair judgment on the wishes of the German people about their future he should encourage full freedom for them to hear all sides of the case and to express their considered judgment.

The banning of meetings in Germany to express opposition to the Contractual Agreement and the rearmament of Western Germany, and the refusal of the Danish Government to grant visas to the important German delegation which was coming to discuss with the representatives of neighbouring countries and Britain a peaceful solution of the German problem, are indications of a sustained policy to force through ratification without giving the German people the right to express their views.

In the meantime, the opposition in Germany grows.

The Upper House of the West German Parliament has insisted on its right to examine and vote on all the clauses of the Contractual Agreement. Since Dr. Adenauer has lost his majority in the Upper House owing to the recent elections in Baden, the Opposition, if it will unite on this supremely important matter, can prevent ratification.

The Constitutional Court of Western Germany has yet to decide whether in any case the Agreement is legal under the present constitution, as it has also to decide on the legality of conscription.

The fact that the Supreme Court in America has recently decided against the assumption of power by the President in connection with the steel industry, gives some hope that the German Constitutional Court may not be biased by political considerations or overwhelmed by Adenauer's position.

Though ratification is by no means a certainty either in Germany or in France and though there is growing concern about the consequences in many other countries, the determination of Britain and America to force their plans through and the pressure they are able to bring may prevail unless in each country public opinion is aroused to demand otherwise.

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There would seem to be some hesitation on the part of America to accept Soviet proposals for a Four Power meeting on Germany, although France has expressed itself in favour.

There can be no doubt that the responsibility for the future of Germany rests with the Four Powers and that the Potsdam Agreement is the only legal basis for relations with Germany pending a valid peace treaty with a united German government.

There is every reason to believe that Russia is prepared to go to great lengths to avoid the rearmament of Western Germany because she regards such a course as increasing the danger of American domination in Europe, of a remilitarised Germany and of a third world war.

Too much emphasis should not be laid on the natural reaction of Eastern Germany to the signing of the Contractual Agreement. The sabre-rattling in the East is the counterpart to the cock-a-hoop cries of Herr Theodor Blank in his militaristic glee.

What matters is the readiness of the Four Powers to meet immediately for the purpose of agreeing upon the conditions necessary for free election of an all-German government and upon the terms of a peace treaty with a united disarmed Germany which would both guarantee to the German people their legitimate rights and also provide security for their neighbours.

We believe this to be not only desirable but possible.

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If truth is on our side, time is not, and it will be necessary to mobilise all the influence of the constructive peacemakers in this and other countries within the next few weeks if we are to stand by genuine peace-lovers in Germany and prevent the new step towards civil and international war.

We hope that in Parliament the Labour Party will be unanimous in its opposition to the rearmament of Western Germany and in the demand for a Four Power meeting, and that it will be able to present such a challenge to the Government as will make it impossible to ratify the agreement.

It is the responsibility of every genuine peace-lover to recognise the urgency of this threat to peace and by every means possible to bring pressure to bear upon individual MPs and to stir the conscience of the general public to an insistent demand that even at this late hour a halt shall be called to the policies which are making for war.

### The importance of India

**L**AST week we published an extract from an important speech made by Mr. Nehru on June 12.

He was opposing a motion which contained the suggestion that there was an "urgent need of India withdrawing from the Commonwealth."

This great nation of India, insisting on standing outside the cold war, is an important fact in the world today. It is also an important fact in regard to Commonwealth relations.

India's Government is in the same position as the British Government in that it has recognised the Peking Government and would support its membership of the United Nations.

An important difference from British foreign policy, however, is that India has been realistic enough to face the logic of its attitude to China and has signed its own peace treaty with Japan, whereas Great Britain—in a woeful attempt to ride two horses travelling in different directions—has signed at San Francisco the Treaty framed by Mr. Dulles in pursuance of American conceptions of policy.

The difference is enormous. The San Francisco Treaty aimed at making Japan a part of the American "defence" system in the Pacific and is regarded as a threat by Russia and China. The treaty that India has signed is a genuine peace treaty.

It was an Indian initiative that led to the decision to send Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Lord Alexander to Korea to investigate matters on the spot.

Lord Alexander, and with less ebullience Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, have followed their visits with the usual diplomatic rose-tinted commentary on what they found, but it takes little penetration to perceive that both have felt a deep disquietude.

We have yet to learn if their visit is likely to produce tangible results.

### Korean prisoners: a way out

**T**HE plan that is reported as likely to be put forward by the United Nations to deal with Korean PoWs is the most helpful that has been proposed so far.

This is that prisoners of war of both sides who refuse repatriation shall be sent to India.

Representatives of the United States, Britain and India have been discussing such a plan and it is reported that Prime Minister Nehru is sympathetic to this proposal.

It is suggested that this plan could be accepted by the Chinese Communists without "loss of face," because of the friendly relationship between India and China; this aspect of the matter may have some importance, but of real consequence is that the proposal is the only one that has been made so far that offers any guarantee of humane treatment to all the prisoners concerned.

The record of the treatment of the prisoners has been marked by a dreadful lack of humanity aggravated by incompetence.

The "screening" of the prisoners, which still continues, is suspect from beginning to end because so much of it has had to be done through the medium of South Korean interpreters. This fact alone offers enormous possibilities of injustice and future misery through misrepresentation and plain misunderstanding, and the placing of the "screened" men under the charge of Dr. Syngman Rhee's forces must offer

## THE GERMAN PROBLEM

*The following is the text of the statement adopted at the Odense Conference on the peaceful solution of the German problem by the delegates from Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway and Sweden, on June 15, 1952.*

**T**HE Governments have signed the Contractual agreements and the European Defence Treaty. The decision to create an army in West Germany and to integrate that country in a military coalition has been taken in violation of the Potsdam Agreement which forms the only legal basis for international relations with Germany.

We feel that an extremely grave step towards war has thus been taken. We consider it our duty solemnly to warn the leaders and the members of Parliament of the countries of Western Europe that they are at this moment taking upon themselves the responsibility for an eventual conflict by creating in the heart of Europe the conditions and means for war, both civil and international.

Rearmament of West Germany, provoking the rearmament of East Germany, makes inevitable the permanent division of the country; it stimulates the revival of militarism and Fascism; it sets the whole world upon a path which has only one end.

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However, the possibility of a peaceful solution remains open. The great Powers can reach agreement on Germany on condition that they are prepared to recognise for Germany the following rights, as this Conference sees them:

1. The right to national unity.
2. The right to a government freely elected.
3. The right to a peace treaty.
4. The right to sovereignty and security.

We are certain that sufficient guarantees can be found for the security of Germany's neighbours; without wishing to state them precisely in the absence of the German delegation, we affirm that one of the most important guarantees is to be found in the measures to be taken to assure to all the

## BEHIND THE NEWS

many of them as little comfort as would their repatriation to the North.

It is quite likely that many of the captive South Koreans who are now to be released but are not prisoners of war and are not on the lists supplied to the enemy command would also prefer to go to India if they were given the choice.

### The UN Command

**A**SKED whether he favoured British representation at the Korean truce talks, Lord Alexander is reported to have said:

"It is a United Nations set-up—it just happens to be an American commander in charge."

A truer statement of the facts would have been "It is a United Nations set-up—it just happens to be the American Government in charge."

General Mark Clark does not answer for his policy to the United Nations; he answers for it to his Government. It is his Government that deals with the United Nations.

This is an important distinction—as has already been made clear during General MacArthur's term of command.

### Canals and confidence

**T**HE water of the Volga and the Don are no longer separated.

The new 63-mile canal recently opened which joins the two great rivers enables sea-going vessels to ply their trade between the Baltic, the White Sea, the Black Sea, and the Caspian.

The construction works, begun before the war and resumed in 1947, also provide for the irrigation of the surrounding land and for a reservoir in connection with a new hydro-electric plant capable of developing 160,000 kilowatts.

Visitors to Moscow often speak enthusiastically about the Metro, which is as certain a venue for tourists as St. Paul's Cathedral is in London. The comparison is deliberate, for one of the more recent visitors to Russia supplied the link when he suggested that as in mediaeval times men put their best work into the Cathedrals for the greater glory of God (although they were often built among squalid surroundings) so the Russians have put their best work into the Metro for the greater glory of the Soviet Union.

Magnificent as the architecture is, the real significance is lost unless the purpose of it is remembered. This is something more than an underground railway, as the new canal is more than a waterway.

The Metro was begun before the war but, unlike the canal, work upon it was never interrupted. The first station was opened at the height of the attack on Stalingrad, and stations have been completed regularly ever since, the last one having been opened a few weeks ago.

To the Russians the Metro became the symbol of victory, the expression of the same spirit which refused to surrender Stalingrad. They went on in the certainty that they could not be defeated. And that

peace-loving forces in Germany their free expression and development.

We assure those Germans who are in the forefront of the constructive peace movement that we stand with them. By preventing their delegates as well as those of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia from coming to discuss freely with the delegates of nine other countries bordering on Germany the principles of a peaceful solution, the Western Governments have given us yet another reason for our disquiet and strengthened our will to defend ourselves against the common danger. We are determined to see that another conference takes place with the least possible delay at which all interested parties can be present.

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A peaceful solution of the German problem is the only way to open up for all peoples a new road to co-operation and liberty. Given an international situation in which tension has thus been relieved it will be possible to propose to Germany and to the other nations that they reach agreement so that Germany's actual state of disarmament could then become the first stage in a general disarmament.

The delegates of nine European countries of very varied political and religious opinions, united in this cause, undertake to rouse all the forces at their disposal among peoples and parliaments so that the ratification of the contractual agreements recently signed may be halted, and that they be not carried into effect, and to secure a Four Power Conference which will prepare the way for free elections and general negotiations. They undertake to alert public opinion in a final effort to avoid the taking of irreparable steps so that out of the grave dangers confronting us may come the beginnings of lasting peace.

spirit still inspires the Russian people and must be taken into account if we are to understand them and their leaders.

They have inherited the conception of the chosen people, and Communism has all the power of a religion because it carries with it a sense of mission, and a conviction that Russia must fulfil its destiny.

Whilst of all peoples the Russians need a long period of peace in which to complete their constructional schemes, it is this sense of mission which makes them less afraid of war than many other peoples.

That does not mean that they are therefore the more ready to provoke a war, for they share with other people the knowledge of the destruction and suffering which another war would bring. It does mean that they are certain that if war should come they would win and such a conviction may well influence their approach to the Western Powers in the cold war, and might indeed turn the scales at some moment of crisis.

### Communists & conscription

**W**E were very glad to see that Mr. J. R. Sandy, who is a member of the British Peace Committee had raised in the Daily Worker the question of the Communist attitude to conscientious objection.

"Many pacifists," he wrote, "distrust and fear Communism and will continue to do so as long as Communists threaten to take away from them even those small concessions to conscience that have been secured under capitalist Government."

We hope Mr. Sandy will be successful in getting a declaration on this subject from the British Peace Committee and that the matter will then be raised in the World Peace Council.

If the discussion of this issue could be extended to deal with the issue of conscription itself this would be all to the good.

Up to the present neither the British Peace Committee nor the World Peace Council have made any declaration on the subject of Conscription, while the Daily Worker and the Communist Party advocate compulsory military service for Russia and for Great Britain, and presumably for the rest of the world.

A declaration, or a world petition, against Conscription, would be an act having a much greater significance for peace than scores of declarations against the atom bomb.

### "Not worth reading"

**T**HE distinguished novelist, Phyllis Bottome, has intervened in the correspondence in the local newspaper on the subject of the exclusion of Peace News from the St. Ives, Cornwall, Public Library.

She regards it as unfortunate that the Library Committee "chose as a reason" for its exclusion the desire to avoid controversy, and remarks that "every subject worth thinking and writing about is in its essence controversial."

She does not like Peace News, however, and therefore looks for a better reason that the Library Committee may choose. She indicates that there are others also that the Committee might select from; so they need not be nonplussed if they do not like this one.

Miss Bottome's better reason is that Peace News "is not worth reading."

Now we hardly think that she would seriously contend that the facts and viewpoints in Peace News are widely publicised elsewhere. Therefore, when she says that the paper is not worth reading she means that she would rather not know about these facts or consider these viewpoints.

All she is doing, in fact, is to say in different words what the Library Committee has already said, but she is not saying it so well.

What is worth reading is very largely a matter of individual outlook.

We have read a number of Phyllis Bottome's books and have found pleasure in doing so. Even if we had not regarded them as being worth the time and trouble of reading, however, we should not have felt that this justified the view that they should be kept off the shelves of the public library. When we begin to apply that kind of test we may as well close our public libraries.

"There is a flexible and desirable form of censorship," says Miss Bottome, "which consists in the freedom to exploit sense rather than nonsense." This is the principle upon which public libraries are conducted, and literature and the arts directed, in the U.S.S.R. On the whole we do not believe it has desirable cultural or political results.

### Fun and games in the Far East

**T**HE Bangkok Post of May 15, 1952, reports an unusual press conference addressed by Siam's Director-General of the Police Department, General Phao.

The General invited the Press to hear a report on the activities of his secret agents, "who have just returned from espionage trips to China."

General Phao said that his agents went from Bangkok to Hong Kong and Kowloon and then up to Canton and Shanghai to gather material for their reports.

Transit visas are required for Siamese nationals travelling through Hong Kong; presumably if the British authorities were told by the agents "we are Siamese spies on our way to China," they would be issued without delay. Possibly their profession was indicated on their passports.

We look forward to the day when Sir Percy Sillitoe calls a Press conference following the return of his spies from the Soviet Union—and tells us how they travelled there!

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This was inspired, says our contributor, A. E. South, by the "Spot-lights" of Mr. A. J. Cummings of the News Chronicle.

## A letter to Col. Blimp

My Poor Dear Uncle Michael,

What a wicked heartless old man you are! I showed your letter to Sophie and she wept.

How can you contemplate and gloat about the possibility of another war? Advanced in years as you are, living in your quiet Sussex village amidst your pigs and fruit trees, you should now be preparing yourself to meet your maker. You should be praying for forgiveness for your blood-thirsty past.

I don't think you realise quite how out of touch you are with the British nation of today. Nobody, either in or out of authority in this country, wants war or believes in war. Your type of militarist has become a hateful joke in my circles. Everybody believes in peace now, and this is why the country is rearming.

It seems to me that you deliberately misunderstand the motives behind the great rearmament programme of the Western democracies. I'll quote a passage from your letter back at you, so that you may realise just what bloodthirsty nonsense you write.

"Good God, lad, I'm overjoyed old Winston is back in the saddle, and I'm hoping it won't be long before we have a bash at the Reds. What's the sense of this rearmament unless we do have a bash at the Reds? Before we know where we are, our aeroplanes will be out of date, and we'll have to make some more! We'll have to find something better than atom and hydrogen bombs for blotting the Reds out, because old Joe will have worked out some wheeze for neutralising them!"

"I sometimes think there's too much rearmament these days. All the taxes we have to pay for arms and the upkeep of these sloppy young conscripts make the peace incredibly dreary. In my day—I have to keep harking back, lad—we enjoyed our peace, and we didn't make such a fetish of rearmament. When war came, of course, we faced up to it and got our arms as we went along."

Your days, Uncle! I don't want to be nasty, but I think you ought to forget them. This is civilisation 1952 and people are so much more enlightened.

The wonderful thing about our armaments is that they are actually weapons of peace. We do not wish to use them and if only we make enough of them, and they are truly horrifying, we may never need to use them. Also the wonderful thing about our "sloppy young conscripts," as you are pleased to call them, is that they are soldiers of peace. They are trained to use the weapons of war, but no responsible British statesman would send them into battle. Like the armaments daily pouring out of our factories and workshops, they are essential safeguards of peace.

It may be uneconomic and disagreeable for selfish old men like yourself who dislike paying taxes, that the country should make this great effort of rearmament; but my generation understands as yours never did, that peace does not just fall into one's lap. Peace demands sacrifices, sometimes extremely disagreeable sacrifices.

Before the 1914-18 war, and the 1939-45 war, your generation made feeble attempts at rearmament, in order to deter the

aggressor, and because you did not do the job properly, war came. My generation intends to do the job properly this time! Of course, the ultimate scale of our rearmament will be tremendous, because Russia and her satellite states are rearming against us with evil and alarming intensity. It may be that we shall fail, and if this is the case, our rearmament will not be wrong. We shall be wrong because we have not made sufficient sacrifices, and have been so afraid of the possibility of national bankruptcy and starvation that we have not rearmed sufficiently.

As to the war which would ensue in the event of our failure, it would not be war in the sense which you would understand the term. I would call it a peace effort, an attempt at world pacification. You don't seem to understand modern terminology, Uncle! For example, you write as follows about the affair in Korea.

"Merciful Heavens, lad! In our day we'd just have called Korea a colonial war. Obviously we want Korea within our sphere of influence, and we ought to do it, whatever the costs. Drop some atom bombs on them, I say! These yellow fellows will never understand civilisation, unless we give it to them."

All right, Uncle! Keep your blood pressure under control! It would be very satisfactory to drop atom bombs on the North Koreans, I agree, if only one could avoid hitting the South Koreans and also the Chinese. For we simply mustn't attempt pacification of China until our rearmament is completed! But whatever is done in Korea and elsewhere on behalf of the United Nations, the last and utterly impossible word to describe it must be war.

Everything the Western democracies do these days is peaceful. Everybody on our side wants peace. Unless you get this into your thick head, Uncle, there simply isn't a chance for you in public life. I know you'd like to become an MP, and have already sounded Transport House which wants some steady, level headed Labour candidates. However, do bear in mind that you haven't an earthly unless you declare that you are a man of peace.

For my part, I have to be frank, and say that I don't want you in public life. You could never speak the language of peace sincerely, as others like myself can, and you should take the consequences of your bloodthirsty past, and resign yourself to your orchard and your pigs, while better men go forward in your place.

Sophie sends her love. And I sign myself, with some regret, as

your nephew,

Emmanuel Blimp.

PS—Good news! I hope you won't be jealous, but I've been promised a very safe Labour seat, after the present pacifist MP has retired.

## The UN Charter and NATO

THOSE responsible for the formation of NATO foster the idea that the proposed European Army and NATO Forces can be used as the United Nations forces for collective defence as provided for in the United Nations Charter.

This ignores the provisions which lays down for setting up armed forces for collective defence for the United Nations, which are as follows:

Clause 43 of the Charter provides for Member Nations to enter into agreements with the Security Council to make specified numbers of forces available.

Clause 47 provides that a Military Staff Committee consisting of the Chief of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council shall be responsible, under the Security Council, for the strategic direction of these armed forces.

Clauses 27, 32, 33, 36, 39, 40 and 41, set out the details of the negotiations for a peaceful settlement that must be made before these forces can be used. It is important to remember that only when these negotiations have failed can the UN forces be called into action.

### Who controls the forces?

I will outline and compare the conditions governing UN armed forces as laid down in the United Nations Charter, and the terms agreed upon in NATO for the organisation and control of the NATO forces.

The Charter provides that the number of armed forces to be made available to the United Nations by Members are limited to a number to be arrived at by agreement between the Member Nations in consultation with the Security Council. No exact information is available concerning the decisions taken at the NATO meeting in Lisbon during February. According to agreements already published the armed forces of NATO include the whole of the armed forces of the Members of NATO.

The UN Charter provides that the UN forces shall be controlled by the Military Staff Committee consisting of the Chief of Staff of the five permanent Members of the Security Council, and that the Military Staff Committee must act under the direction of the Security Council. There is no provision for the UN forces to be put under the control of any one general from any one country.

## COMMUNITIES

WITH increasing tensions and perplexities, many young pacifists seem to be thinking again about the possibilities of community experiments. I do hope they will not forget the practical lesson of the failures in the war years—that numbers make a qualitative difference.

Take the case of "love." The pacifist knows that the mystery is that love must include people one doesn't "like." When the individual considers himself in relation to the community, it is not hard for him to keep a sense of proportion. Obviously, there are millions who don't like us, but from whom we must hope for compassion and tolerance. But reduce the world community to a handful of people, and then it is easy to think that the disliked is simply a perverse exception to the theory of salvation.

Of course there is no problem for the saint; but others learn that it is one thing to love the world and another to have to show day to day proof of such mystical love to some particular individual who happens to set one's nerves on edge.

Like many pacifists during the war years, I suffered some agonising experiences of communities; yet I do not look on them as criticism of the pacifist faith. If individual pacifists could not live together in peace under one roof, it in no way invalidates the demand that the world community should live in peace—under the roof of the world. The pattern for universal harmony cannot be the same as the pattern for household harmony. There is a qualitative difference of numbers.

The non-saint but pacifist can love millions in a rational and tolerant way, without having spiritual strength to bear one incompatible individual who is forever at one's elbow. As a pacifist, one does not wish the incompatible one harm; but, as a human being, one wishes him millions of miles away.

### A FATAL ERROR

Can then only saints make pacifist communities? Of course not. But in the old days, when we found an uncongenial element wanted to join the small group, we always thought that he (or she) must be welcomed in order to demonstrate the truth which has relevance to the world community in terms of one household. It was a fatal error.

For the ordinary community experiment, the approach should be to show that harmoniously disposed people can live together at peace with their environment and their millions of neighbours. The effort to show that ill-matched people can live together in close-quarter harmony is asking too much of the ordinary pacifist citizen at our present stage of development. So if a new generation of pacifists want to put hope in-

to action, let them not be ashamed of group selectivity. Let them recall that the few communities which have survived are held together by some predetermined sympathy among the members.

And again I would say that this is no retreat from principle. If one gives the business of the qualitative difference of numbers attention, one realises that it comes into many pacifist questions. It is, for instance, the difference between restraining one violent man with sufficient force (because one has not the saintly gift to immobilise him with tranquillity) and silencing an entire country with atom bombs.

OSWELL BLAKESTON.

## "Community Farm"

"COMMUNITY Farm" is the most delightful book Murry has written. Perhaps delight is an odd word to use with reference to such a writer. But I am one of the small tribe who confesses to being thrilled, inspired, and informed by JMM, and reading his book on a subject from which I have at least had twelve years of grim and intimate experience, my heart is warmed by it.

The great tragedy of community enterprise lay in the bitter isolation it imposed upon pioneers. Instead of the war breaking down suspicion and mistrust, it drove individualism into the haven of community. It need not surprise us that most ventures broke down under the impact of the plague of pure downright wanting-my-own-way.

There were never enough of the right sort to take the weight. Nor need we enjoy the humour of the record of cranks and worse without realising that what is comic now in the behaviour of "communiters" was, at the time of happening, wanton and cruel. We are fortunate that Murry, with his great gift of detachment, should have been driven to enter community and give us the result of his experience.

The simple motive behind a community is an acknowledgment that the world is suffering because mankind has a solution to the personal problem but no solution to the aggregate problem. We are all of us good citizens as individualists, but failures at living together. In such circumstances there is no longer a validity in saving the individual soul; the only valid task is to learn how to live together.

If we desire peace, it has to be peace for all. "Community Farm" is a warning of how difficult peace is of achievement and a corrective to those who imagine that peace can be bought without paying the price of all that a man hath.

J. H. WATSON.

\* by John Middleton Murry. Peter Nevill, 16s.

### R.S.V.P.

A FRIEND of mine suggested that the Peace Pledge Union could not be in such a bad way financially as to justify descending to an appeal for waste paper!

As to being in a bad way, we are at the moment actually living on other people's money in the shape of an overdraft from the bank. As to descending to an appeal for waste paper, I would rather see waste paper used for a good purpose than allow any source of revenue to be thrown away.

However, in making a suggestion which I hope will appeal to everybody and which certainly is within the possibility of everybody to answer, I will risk going to the other extreme.

I am therefore asking EVERY reader of Peace News to make during this coming week one act of self-denial: to forego some pleasure during the week and send the money thus saved to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund.

An ounce of tobacco, a packet of cigarettes, a ration of chocolate, a visit to the cinema or theatre—or some other pleasure which each of us could do without for once, without any serious self-sacrifice—could be turned into help for PPU Headquarters large enough to mean that we were spending our own money instead of someone else's.

One really good co-operative effort will bring Headquarters Fund at least up to our aim (for we should by now have received no less than £500 instead of only £172).

So do PLEASE plan now to give up something during the week and spend the money instead on proclaiming peace.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Total since January 1, 1952: £172.  
Target for 1952: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## BUS COLOUR BAR

### New moves in USA

ALTHOUGH the Greyhound Bus Corporation, which runs long-distance bus services in the Southern States of the USA, has had its colour-bar seating arrangements declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, discrimination still goes on.

Pacifists who secured the Supreme Court rulings brought together a small group of interested people who joined in purchasing shares of Greyhound stock in order to press the matter at the stockholders' meeting.

When the company secretary refused to place the matter of segregated seating on the agenda of the meeting the stockholders retained a New York attorney, Conrad Lynn, and they have asked him to institute proceedings in the courts.

Bayard Rustin, the negro pacifist and singer, whose activities in breaking the colour bar on this bus line resulted in a sentence of one month with a road-gang, is to visit England this summer.

It is expected that he will address a meeting in London in mid-July and report on the latest developments in this campaign. He is Director of the College section of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## "Church should lead peace movement"

THE time has come for the Church to assume moral responsibility for the peace movement," says a recent memorandum issued by the US Presbyterian Church Board of Foreign Missions.

The statement suggests that "a strong, courageous statement of their peace aims" should be made by the churches and that "the American churches, particularly, need to make such a statement, because of the harm being done abroad by our publicising of our economic strength and military power."

America's National Council of Churches has decided that this issue should be included in its 1953 "emphasis programme."

## A German's gesture of companionship in grief

THE Evening Chronicle (Newcastle) recently published a touching letter from a German, Herr Albert Petersen of Hamburg, to a bereaved English mother, Mrs. Hephner, whose address he did not know.

"On Easter Monday," he wrote, "we decided to visit the English soldiers' cemetery in Beckingen and called at a flower shop in Soltau to buy some flowers for the grave of some unknown soldier."

"The florist had an Interflora order for flowers from you for your son's grave and asked me to take them there. I did so, and the thought came to me that I could comfort a mother with some photographs, so I took these. Please take them as a sign of companionship in grief."

"So many young men to die because a nation preferred guns to butter," Herr Petersen went on. "Now once again we are being offered guns. But there is not much happiness here over that. We fear that the end will be more soldiers' cemeteries and again the question: for what?"

The Evening Chronicle published one of the photographs he had sent. It showed a bunch of flowers standing in front of a plain memorial cross, with the name of Corporal G. Hephner, H.L.I.

## "Christians and the Crisis" Group

The group of clergy, ministers and lay-folk who, under the title "Christians and the Crisis," held a very successful conference in London last autumn advocating meetings between Church leaders of East and West in the interests of world peace, wish it to be known that all communications in connection with the group should be addressed to the Chairman: Rev. R. Mercer Wilson, 13 Doughty Street, WC1.

## AT YOUR NEXT PEACE MEETING

### decorate the hall-platform with FRIENDS PEACE POSTERS

An annual subscription of 3s. entitles you to a new poster every two months, or single copies may be ordered at 6d. post free.

Examples of posters already issued:

1. INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL OR NATIONAL ARMAMENTS—CHOOSE—YOU CANNOT HAVE BOTH.
2. IN FEAR RE-ARM—IN FAITH DISARM—BE NOT AFRAID.
3. WHERE GOD IS NOT, PEACE CANNOT COME. WHERE PEACE IS NOT, GOD CANNOT COME.

## FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE

Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.

## "We must risk disarmament"

—H. W. FRANKLIN

THE Friends Meeting House at Gloucester was crowded and many had to stand to hear three pacifist speakers on "Britain—Bridge or Battlefield?" call for a more courageous approach to the problem of world peace.

The meeting, which took place on June 14, was organised jointly by the local groups of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mr. D. G. Williams, MA, late Headmaster of the Crypt School, spoke in his usual stimulating manner of the necessity of Britain becoming a bridge—not to be trodden upon by everybody, but to serve as a revolutionary step towards peace.

There were three steps Britain should take:

to break with American policy in Korea and demand recognition of the Communist Government in China, which would give every chance of peace in the East;

to insist on disarmament and abandonment of conscription in Germany; and to reform UNO to represent all mankind, good, bad and indifferent in proportion to national populations.

## Stand out as pacifists

The second speaker, who spoke in an individual and not representative capacity, was Mr. H. W. Franklin, President of the National Union of Railwaymen, and a Gloucester man, who has recently returned from a visit to Russia.

Declaring that all individuals agree that

## DOCTORS TO SPEAK FOR PEACE

A NUMBER of doctors are willing to speak at peace meetings and to groups in London on the work of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

Dr. Anthony Ryle, Secretary of the London and Home Counties branch of MAPW, writes:

"We are of the opinion that the full medical implications of modern warfare are not appreciated by the lay public. In particular, we believe civil defence organisations, as planned at present, to be entirely unrealistic, and we are strongly opposed to the development of bacteriological weapons which spread disease as a method of warfare."

"We have available a number of speakers who are prepared to put forward our viewpoint and we would welcome an opportunity to address a meeting or take part in debates or discussions."

"Most of our speakers are only available in the evening after about 8 p.m."

"Please give details of size and type of audience expected, when requesting speakers."

Dr. Ryle's address is 28, Bartholomew-road, London, N.W.5.

## "Not a fit man" re-elected to chair parish council

I STAND for election to this Parish Council because I feel that Mr. Challis is not a fit person to be Chairman of this Parish Council," said Mr. F. B. Taylor, a former Chairman of the Dullingham Parish Council, at its annual meeting recently.

"I am, as you know, a member of the British Legion, and I have fought for my king and country, and my son has fought for his king and country, and it is wrong that Mr. Challis, who would not fight for his father or mother, brother or sister, should hold office as Chairman of this Council."

Nevertheless, Bernard Challis, a conscientious objector and PPU member, was re-elected, his nomination being the only one both proposed and seconded.

Mr. H. J. Misson, who had refused to stand for nomination, said that over the last two years, during Mr. Challis's Chairmanship, he (Mr. Challis) had always had the village at heart and had not allowed party politics or personalities once to creep into the business of the Council. "We must not let it either," he added.

## PACIFIST ARTIST'S EXHIBITION

DENIS JAMES, a young pacifist artist, is holding a one-man exhibition at the Everyman Theatre, Hampstead. He is showing 14 paintings (three oils and eleven water-colours), which, says the Hampstead and Highgate Express, "all display high qualities of draughtsmanship, and bold, pleasing colour and design."

Work which Denis James has recently done for the peace movement includes the designing of the Friends' Peace Committee folder, depicting the alternative to rearmament—more homes, schools and hospitals—and of a new cover for "Reconciliation," the For monthly.

The exhibition remains open until June 30.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We gratefully acknowledge an anonymous donation of £2 to the Peace News Fund.

war is the greatest folly and pointing out how wars had promoted the spread of Communism in Russia and China, he urged his audience to have the courage to stand out as pacifists.

"We must be determined to have round-table conferences in international disputes, just as we have them in industrial ones," he said.

After the dreadful devastation of the war, the ordinary Russian people, like the people of Britain, did not want war. "We must take the risk of disarmament by example to demonstrate our desire to live peaceably," he said.

"No arms are for defence—they always lead to war and worse conditions for the working people."

## Training young men to kill

"Much crime and violence by young people today springs from the continual atmosphere of violence in comic strips, cinemas and newspapers, and from training young men for two years how best to kill."

"How can we expect them to come back and be good citizens?"

"Our policy of rearmament must be changed, and changed not from the top, but from the bottom. When we have persuaded people that total disarmament is right, we shall be working towards making England a green and pleasant land."

Speaking of his experiences in Russia, Mr. Franklin told how his sharp criticism of military conscription there was published in "Pravda," of his stubborn refusal to take a place of honour to watch a military parade, and of his telephone call, in just over an hour, from Moscow to Mr. Howker, manager of the Gloucester Co-operative Society.

Miss Sybil Morrison, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, reiterated the ridiculousness of war and the necessity of unilateral disarmament.

"The sentimental idea of men fighting to protect their wives and children now has no validity," she said.

Dr. James Horsley presided.

The Anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb is being observed in many countries on August 6 as World Peace Day. Bells and gongs will toll in Hiroshima and other towns and cities in Japan at 8.15 a.m. An appeal has been made by the World Peace Day Committee (609a Santa Ray Ave, Oakland 10, Calif, USA) for religious leaders to stress the significance of the day in their sermons, broadcasts and press publicity.

## "They are putting the clock back 50 years in South Africa"

—R. W. SORESEN, MP

"SOUTH AFRICA is suffering from a malignant social disease. And it would seem from the recent actions of the Colonial Office that the disease has spread from the government buildings in Pretoria to the offices in Whitehall," Dr. Hastings K. Banda of Nyasaland told a meeting at the Caxton Hall last Wednesday organised by the "For A Democratic South Africa" Committee.

Dr. Banda said "Do not swallow the lie that the Africans in Central Africa want to throw the British out. If there is any group of people who are loyal to Britain and want to remain with you it is the Africans. It is the Europeans who want to run away from the British. It is they who say you are pestering them."

He said Africans will oppose federation "even if it means going to concentration camps in our millions."

## Give us the vote.

"They will tell you there are safeguards for the Africans in their plan. These safeguards are not worth the paper they are written on. There were safeguards in South Africa, but one by one they have been done away with and the Imperial Government has said nothing."

"The only safeguard we know of is political rights. Give us the vote."

"Sir Godfrey Huggins says he wants partnership with the African. But what kind of partnership? He wants us to be junior partners, he wants us to be unable to kick when he tries to push us down still further. How can you have partnership with someone who does not regard you as his equal?"

Mr. M. D. Naidoo, secretary of the "For A Democratic South Africa" Committee,

## INTERNATIONAL GARDEN PARTY

The annual Feast of Frontiers Garden Party will be held on Saturday, June 28, at 30, Wood-lane, London, N.6 (adjoining Highgate Underground) from 3 to 6.30 p.m.

The Feast of Frontiers was started nine years ago by Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Schonfield as a revival of the traditional mid-summer festival, with an international flavour.

Admission charge is 2s. 6d., including tea. There will be stalls and competitions, and palmistry by Mr. Yitendra K. Das. Proceeds this year go the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

Gifts for the stalls or tea—sent beforehand if possible—will be welcomed.

## Briefly . . .

"All Quiet on the Western Front" was shown in a Munich cinema recently. Local pacifists paraded outside with posters bearing the words "I am a conscientious objector—are you?" and a picture of a broken rifle.

A "peace levy" proposed by the Swiss Social Democratic Party, to help to finance the armaments programme, was turned down in a recent referendum by 421,459 votes to 328,032. The scheme provided for a special levy on all citizens with a capital of 50,000 francs (about £4,000) or more. Twenty cantons showed a majority against the proposal and only five were in favour.

A letter of protest at the noise made by jet aircraft was published in the Epsom and Ewell Herald last month. The writer, Phyllis Lee, who is a Peace News reader, added that "the more machines we have in the air the less safe I feel."

Former members of the Nazi Party will receive preferential consideration when Munich City Council appoints new officials, reports the German pacifist monthly, Friedensrundschau.

## A new peace film

Norwegian premiere of a film portraying the life of Bertha von Suttner, first woman Nobel peace prize winner and author of "Lay Down Your Arms," will take place in Oslo in the autumn.

Women are conscripted in the same way as men in Chile, Israel, Pakistan and Turkey. Military service for women is forbidden in Belgium, Luxembourg, Guatemala, San Salvador, Egypt, Syria, Siam and Uruguay. In most other countries, reports the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, women are permitted under varying conditions to take part in military or auxiliary service.

The Church and War, a pamphlet by the Rev. H. J. Dale, has been reprinted; copies may be obtained on request from the author, The Manse, Maulden, Beds, England. Postage 1½d.

The napalm (jellied petrol) bomb has not been used against the United Nations forces in Korea, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence has told Mrs. Mann, Labour MP for Coatbridge and Airdrie.

Big gathering of Swedish conscientious objectors is planned as part of the annual conference of the Swedish World Peace Mission in Orebro on August 16 and 17.

Two Norwegian pacifists are planning to adapt a "robust" car as an exhibition of peace literature which they will then drive round Norway.

Scandinavian war resisters will meet in Southern Norway from August 18 to 22.

who has served prison sentences for his part in non-violent resistance demonstrations in Natal said "For the first time in its history the three non-European communities have combined in a programme of passive resistance against the policies of the Government. They have found their unity. Malan has done what politicians for years have failed to do: unite the non-Europeans."

Mr. R. Sorensen, MP, who presided, said there was one very great difference in the racial divisions in the USA and South Africa. "At least we can see some sort of progress in America. But in South Africa they are putting the clock back 50 years. Their policy is a betrayal of the real fulfilment of the human race."

"Whether they know it or not, the South Africans are trying to bury a common humanity in a mausoleum. Yet there is so much in South Africa that could show real promise. The mixed races themselves could show an example of equality and fellowship. But instead there is retrogression."

Mr. Basil Davidson, general secretary of the Union of Democratic Control said "South Africa can be saved, and it must be saved by South Africans. But we have our responsibilities. We must let the democrats in the Union know that the great majority of humanity are behind them."

## TRUTH ABOUT GARLIC

Truth is many sided, as readers of this journal know; but notwithstanding sensational new drug discoveries, the truth about Garlic remains unchallenged as it has stood for 5,000 years. Send stamps 10d. for two booklets of life-conserving information about Garlic—that priceless purifier and healer given by nature for the use of Man.

Write to-day for these remarkable free booklets.

GARLISOL (non-smell) GARLIC REMEDIES FAIRLIGHT, SUSSEX

## World of

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Abolition of War

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I RENOUNCE W SUPPORT OR

This pledge, sh is the basis of t Send YOUR P P.P.U. I

Dick Sheppard

# World conference of Quakers

From BERNARD CANTER

Editor of The Friend

ABOUT 1500 Quakers of many nations will converge next month on Oxford, where, beginning on July 28, a Friends World Conference meets for ten days. The longest journeys will have been made by Australian and New Zealand Friends and by a small group from Japan.

Among other distant groups who are sending members are the Quakers of India, Kenya, Madagascar and South Africa, and there is a large contingent from America, including the USA, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Jamaica and Guatemala.

From Europe will come representatives from all the Scandinavian countries and from France, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Holland and Austria. Middle East Friends will be represented by members from Jordan and Lebanon.

Not all the visitors will be representatives to the Conference: there will be other functions which the non-representatives can attend. The Conference itself, the full session of which will be held in Oxford Town Hall, has been limited to 900.

More than half of the representatives are from America. If representation had been strictly proportional to membership the American representation would have been much larger. The next largest group, the United Kingdom and Ireland, totals 310, and the rest of Europe sends about 60. This leaves only about 50 for Asia, Africa and Australia.

The "Clerk" of the Conference—a Quaker office similar to that of a chairman, though not exactly parallel—is a Birmingham accountant, Wilfrid E. Littleboy, a well-known Friend who formerly presided as Clerk over the Yearly Meeting of British Friends. His Assistant Clerk will be an American editor, Errol T. Elliott, of Richmond, Indiana.

The general theme is to be "The Vocation of Friends in the Modern World." In addition to a dozen full sessions, there will be daily meetings for worship, study and discussion in smaller groups.

While at Oxford representatives are guests of British Friends, and before and after the Conference a good number of overseas visitors will be entertained in Friends' homes in all parts of the country. A reception for representatives will be held in London at Friends House on Saturday, July 26; the principal speaker will be Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

Soon after the close of the Conference the Tercentenary of the foundation of the Society of Friends in 1652 will be remembered in Westmorland, North Lancashire and North-West Yorkshire, where some of the most notable events of the early period of Quakerism took place.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### God save the Queen

WHATEVER theories any of us may hold with regard to the Monarchy, we must all feel a natural sympathy for the young Queen, suddenly summoned home at a moment of private sorrow to assume with quiet dignity the exacting public duties which she has since fulfilled with so much grace.

Paganry may have a proper place in rational life, apart from the estate of Majesty, of which it is rightly regarded as the necessary appurtenance so long as that institution is maintained in the realm. But why do we, a generation in whose experience war has become utterly and universally abhorrent, and outlawed except (in most people's minds) as a regrettable and dreadful necessity should the worst come to the worst—why do we still celebrate the anniversary of our young Queen's birthday almost exclusively with the symbols of war's devilry?

Is the glamour of war's pageantry on such occasions still used to blind the people to its obscenities with tears of emotion? The Times of June 6 describes "the marching past... all furnished, all in arms, all plumed"; it speaks of "catching the inspiration of this trooping ceremonial," and of "that Colour to which such reverence is shown—even the Sovereign salutes it when arriving on the ground."

Such homage shown to the military "Colours" (written with a capital) is blasphemy before God, and no honour to the Queen, whom we dress in uniform as Colonel, a row of war-medals on her breast, "giving the perfect drill-book salute"; so perfect that "many old soldiers agreed she could give points to Field-Marshal."

When The Times correspondent, at the point where Her Majesty reverently salutes the Colour, enquires "Who did not feel moved to pray 'God save the Queen,'" we fully share his sentiment. Yes, God bless her and save her!

Soon afterwards she was on the balcony of her bombed home, watching the fly-past of waves of war-planes.

God save her from another war, another bombing!

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

London, N.W.

### Peace cannot be divided

THE Belgian Stop-War Movement whose leader, Baron Allard, has recently earned the admiration and gratitude of pacifists the world over by his courageous stand against war preparations, has just published a leaflet which calls for some comment.

It shows a flag with a swastika in a red circle flanked by the letters USA and NATO. Here are two of the slogans it displays—"We want peace with the Germans, but it is impossible to have peace with the Nazis" and "We are not prepared to wel-

come to our country the assassins of our fathers."

The sentiments expressed on the leaflet are of course typical of a good deal of propaganda against German rearmament in this and other countries, though they are not usually voiced by pacifist bodies. This kind of thing has a much wider appeal than any opposition based upon objection to rearmament and war in general, because it calls into action some very common human failings, such as sentimentality, hatred, fear, and a desire for revenge. But emotions can be swayed very easily as history has shown again and again, and a cause which is built on an appeal to emotions, while appearing to gain popular support, might find itself deserted in the hour of need.

The Western Allies have chosen what they regard as the lesser evil: a military alliance with Germany against a seemingly even more dangerous enemy. Their confidence in Germany is the child of their fear of Russia, and a sickly premature baby at that, of whom it is hoped that it may yet grow strong and healthy in the EDC incubator.

The real friends of Germany abroad, those who oppose her rearmament and all it implies, will have to be far more daring than that. They must have the courage to trust the Germans in spite of all that has happened in the past, not from fear, but from a deep conviction that only trust can engender trustworthiness. They will have to work with those Germans who are ready to help them, and not "against the Nazis," which in the minds of most people is only another term for the Germans generally. Their appeal should be to reason and a sense of common humanity.

H. K.

### Bags of sand for Koje

ON June 5, an AP dispatch from Koje Island, Korea, revealed: "Bags of sand instead of food were delivered in ration trucks to Compounds 85 and 96... Reduction of rations is a means of discipline permitted under the Geneva Convention..."

The AP on June 13 reported that prisoners, "cowed by the new Allied policy of stern discipline backed by force, submitted peacefully." This is not surprising, as starvation "backed by force" assures amenability. This explains "tendency in Great Britain to suggest that the US Army used pressure to induce Communist prisoners to say that they did not want to go home..." In Europe high officials do not believe that... only 70,000 out of 170,000 expressed a willingness to go home." (US News and World Report, June 6.)

Let us cease-fire now and repatriate all prisoners!

MARY PHILLIPS.

Lemont, Illinois, U.S.A.

### Up and Doing

#### "ALL OUT" FOR JULY 6

THE PPU's Trafalgar Square Rally on Sunday week calls for the mass support of all London and Home Counties PN readers.

Details are given elsewhere in this issue. Demonstrate your opposition to the German Treaty by joining in this great protest meeting.

Recent new regulations have restricted the sale of Peace News and literature in the Square. We are, however, free to sell at meetings, and want to make the maximum use of the opportunity.

Will you help?

Supplies will be available from 2.15 p.m. onwards at the foot of St. Martin's steps. Sellers able to take an earlier pitch at the approaches to the Square please phone or write PN office for advance supplies.

Come and make this an all-out effort for peace.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week 11,900 copies.

### Why BBC opposed germ war broadcast

A RESOLUTION urging that Britain should take immediate steps to secure the enforcement of international law prohibiting the use of bacteriological weapons was passed nem. con. at a public meeting at Woodford Green on June 6 organised by the Woodford and District Peace Committee.

The main speaker, Jack Gaster, said that some newspapers had published leading articles, condemning the report of the Commission of lawyers who went to break, but if the report were false it would have been more effective to print it, and then pull it to pieces and expose it as a fake.

He added that the BBC had refused to allow him to broadcast on the subject on the pretext that the evidence was of too technical a nature.

#### Book the date now

PEACE NEWS' 16th BIRTHDAY MEETING jointly with the Dick Sheppard Memorial Gathering

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, CONWAY HALL.

All PN readers and friends invited.

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## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, June 27

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor Ho (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

### Saturday, June 28

HUTTON: 3.30-7 p.m. Hutton Residential Schools. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "The Abolition of War." For.

MILDENHALL: 12 noon Market Place. Poster parade to air base. 4.15 p.m. Open-air meeting in Market Place. Operation Gandhi.

SALISBURY: 3 p.m. Rechabite Hall, Crane St. Area Conf. The Rev. Lewis MacLachlan. For.

TORQUAY: 3.15 p.m. Addison's Cafe, Carey Parade. John Ferguson, MA. BD. Chair. Mrs. Lloyd Jones. For.

EDINBURGH: 2.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. No. 28 Stafford St. Annual General Meeting of Scottish PPU. All members in Scotland asked to attend. Tea provided.

### Sunday, June 29

MANCHESTER: 7.15 p.m. Open-air mtg. Plant Fields. Speakers: Lionel Cowan, Frank Robinson. United Peace Fellowship.

PLYMOUTH: 3.15 p.m. Swarthmore Hall, Mutley Plain. John Ferguson, MA. BD. Chair. Rev. E. Mansfield. For.

GLASGOW: 7.30 p.m. Miller St. and Argyle St. Open-air mtg. PPU.

### Monday, June 30

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. 107 Brays Lane (light) from 9 or 11 bus at Empress Works. PPU group on policy and activities.

### Tuesday, July 1

RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. E. Sheen. Antony Bates on Spiritual Law and Pacifism. PPU.

### Wednesday, July 2

KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Cres, W.11. Robert Horniman on "Socialism and Pacifism." PPU.

### Thursday, July 3

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open air mtg. Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman: PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Mr. Dalloway on "Is an ideal worth fighting for?" PPU.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall Chapel, Oldham St. Methodist Peace Fellowship Rally and Covenant Service. Rev. E. Benson Perkins, MA. For.

### Friday, July 4

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor Ho (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

### Saturday, July 5

LONDON: 3 p.m. 33 Beaumont Fee. Area Meeting. Don Roger, Organiser of Sheffield Family Service Unit, on "Problem Families." Chair: Rev. John Jay. For.

SHEFFIELD: One day school at Longshaw Ho. commencing 3 p.m. Reginald Reynolds, "Prospect for Peace." Particulars from Winifred Eason, 6a Summerfield, 10. PPU.

### Sunday, July 6

BLACKPOOL: 6.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho. 30a Raikes Parade. "Quakers and Peace." Reginald Reynolds. Sof.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. Trafalgar Square. Public Meeting—"Britain, Bridge or Battlefield?" Emrys Hughes, MP. Dr. Alex Comfort, Victor Yates, MP. Stuart Morris, Mona Bentin, Robert Horniman, Sam Walsh. Chair: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

### Tuesday, July 8

RHONDDA VALLEY: Tonypanidy Central Hall. Methodist Peace Fellowship Retreat. 2 p.m. Conference led by Rev. D. H. Gowan, B.D. 7.15 p.m. Public Meeting and Brains Trust. Question Master Rev. Kenneth G. Greet.

### Thursday, July 10

HARROW: 8 p.m. Little Arden Cottage, South Hill Ave. nr. S. Harrow Stn. Harold W. Johnson on "A pacifist looks at World Government." CWG.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. Sidney Billson on "PPU Purpose." PPU.

### Friday, July 11

CHELSEA: 8 p.m. Manor Ho (Opposite Town Hall). Open-air mtg. PPU.

### Saturday, July 12

ASHFORD, KENT: 3.30 p.m. 32 Bybrook, S.E. Area Mtg. 6 p.m. Co-operative Hall, High St. Public Mtg. Speaker: Sybil Morrison. PPU.

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## The West and germ warfare

### STOP THE PREPARATIONS — NOW

**T**HE American Government could do one thing immediately to convince the world that it viewed the very idea of germ warfare as horrible and uncivilised and had no intention of going down into history as the pioneer of the method of using plague, spotted fever and typhus as a weapon for destroying the civilian population of another country.

It could announce that America had decided to close down its stations for bacteriological warfare research and invite the International Red Cross to send representatives to be present at the dismantling of the laboratories.

That would be the only way to convince millions of people in the Eastern world that the Americans are not completely ruthless barbarians, out to exterminate them by any means however cruel and inhuman.

#### Why China suspects Red Cross

For that is the impression that now prevails all over Asia following the statements that have been made by the Chinese Government about germ warfare in Korea and China.

The Western reply is that the allegations about germ warfare are just Communist propaganda and to demand an investigation by the International Red Cross.

This China refuses, mainly because she is barred from the United Nations and as long as this continues the outside bodies associated with the West are suspect.

But is the West content to leave it here? For if we are horrified at the very thought of germ warfare, why should we deliberately blind ourselves to the fact that both in Britain and America we are preparing for it?

We cannot discover how much of our money is being spent at the research station at Porton by the Ministry of Supply. Round this place we have erected a little iron curtain behind which we are not allowed to peep. When questioned in the House of Commons, the Minister takes refuge in the answer that information cannot be divulged for reasons of security.

#### "Foot-and-mouth" as a weapon

In America, however, more information has leaked out.

We know from "Newsweek" that the Army has been allocated 170,000,000 dollars for germ warfare research this year.

And in the New York Herald Tribune, May 27, we read the following which deserves to be quoted in full and to be widely known in Britain:

The Army has reached the production and stockpiling stage in the development of germ-warfare weapons, informed sources said today.

It is United States policy to use such weapons only if an enemy should use them first. Officials have said they will not be used otherwise.

Defence Secretary Robert A. Lovett apparently had in mind the Army's progress in the field of biological warfare when he recently said Communist forces in Korea would "wish they had never been born" if they resort to germ weapons.

The exact nature of the germ weapons developed by the Army, as well as present and planned production, are top military secrets. But Maj. Gen. E. T. Bullene, chief of the Army Chemical Corps, recently told Congress that it is "very urgent that money be appropriated for the production of germ weapons." He said:

"We have concentrated on research for ten years, and we think it's time to catch up with some hardware." He gave no hint of the type of weapons or the germs they would carry.

Other biological warfare experts said giant aerosol bombs could be used to spray germ-laden mists over cities or massed troops. Clouds of disease germs also could be created by specially designed shells fired from ground artillery or warships. Submarines equipped with large "atomizers" could surface close off shore and lay down lethal mists over large areas.

Three of the diseases mentioned most commonly in connection with germ attacks against human beings are typhus

fever, spotted fever and yellow fever. Other possibilities are psittacosis (parrot fever), influenza, pneumonic plague and tularemia.

Saboteurs could contaminate theatres, office buildings, schools and churches with relatively small spraying devices, but they probably could wage bacterial warfare best by poisoning a city's water supply or foodstuffs with high concentrated germ cultures.

Food animals and crops also could be targets in germ warfare. Cattle would be vulnerable to rinderpest and foot-and-mouth disease, hogs to cholera and poultry to fowl pest.

Wheat stem rust, corn smut and potato and bean blights offer possibilities for ruining crops in biological warfare.

If the American Government does not approve of germ warfare what does this mean?

Can all this be defended on the grounds that the Russians and the Chinese are going to attack the USA first and that it is necessary to be prepared to counter-attack with germs if the other begins?

#### Sir Gladwyn Jebb's smoke-screen

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, at the Security Council, has tried to put up a smoke-screen by revealing that during the war Churchill warned the Germans that if gas were used against the Russians we would use it too and that Stalin approved.

So, asks our representative at the Security Council, "How can the Russians logically protest against germ warfare now?"

This may be a clever debating point, but it does not satisfy intelligent public opinion that is not so keen about recalling the past as it is in trying to present the latest horrors being inflicted on millions of innocent civilians who may be the victims.

The test of the sincerity of governments is whether they are prepared to discontinue their preparations for germ warfare, declare this to the world and invite international inspection.

And that is what we should demand from the governments of the West.

## PUBLIC OPINION CAN AFFECT PEACE ISSUE

—Cecil Day Lewis to authors

**A**BOUT thirty signatories of the Authors' World Peace Appeal, which last week in London to hear Naomi Mitchison and Cecil Day Lewis speak on "What can we as writers do about

Peace?" Mrs. Mitchison spoke first of some of the things that writers could not do if they were to honour the AWP pledge to "encourage an international settlement through peaceful negotiation." They must not just be woolly in favour of peace, but must understand something about the political situation at any given time.

As a writer became more successful, the various things which were power-bringing came his way, such as the opportunity of broadcasting, or of writing for newspapers. This brought its own temptations. If they were asked to write for some newspaper which was fomenting war and hatred, they must be able to say: "No, I am not going to write for a paper like yours."

#### Original sin

"If we ever get into a war situation," she went on, "we shall have no end of temptations, because everything is pushing us one way, including a good deal of original sin of our own."

She reminded her hearers that the main duty of a writer was to write. They must strive, in their writing, towards the gradual and slow creation of opinion.

"Do not let us use the methods of the politicians, let us use our own more subtle methods," she said.

Professor Cecil Day Lewis said that the difficulty for a writer was to know how to divide his time, because one needed a continuous run on a piece of writing. He suggested that all members of AWP should pledge themselves to give a certain proportion of their time to the organisation, even if it were only a day or a week each year.

Referring to the work which he and many others had done to try to avert the Second World War, he said that this seemed at the time to have been in vain, but "have springs eternal in the human breast." He felt that the task of writers today was to combat the state of mind of those who believed that the issues of peace and war were entirely in the hands of a few professional politicians, whose mentality seemed to be one of childish nationalism.

#### Smear campaign welcomed

"Our first task," he declared, "is to combat fatalism, to keep alive the idea that public opinion can affect the issues of peace and war. I think this organisation has an importance already, because any body of people who organise for peace are setting an example of non-apathy. That is why we should welcome the smear campaign in the Press, rather than be indignant

## KOREAN REHEARSAL

*I am very favourably impressed with the whole layout in Korea . . . If ever we have to fight a third world war—I certainly hope we don't—this will provide a sort of dress rehearsal.*

Field-Marshal Lord Alexander at Edmonton, Canada, June 19, 1952.

General Van Fleet summed it all up in January, 1952: "Korea has been a blessing. There had to be a Korea either here or some place in the world."

I. F. Stone, "The Hidden History of the Korean War."

**O**N Sunday, June 15, Lord Alexander, addressing British pilots attached to the British fleet in Korean waters, was reported to have said:

"When you begin wondering whether this war is worth while, just remember that this rehearsal of allied co-operation is worth while if we are unfortunate enough to be pitchforked into a third world war."

Since large sections of the Press seemed to differ as to the actual words used and the term "rehearsal" only appeared in one or two newspapers, Peace News did not make any comment at the time. Now, however, Lord Alexander has, on his arrival in Canada, en route to make his report on the Korean situation in Washington, repeated this word "rehearsal," and even embellished it by the addition of the adjective "dress."

Everyone knows what a "dress rehearsal" is; it is different from the ordinary rehearsal in that it is the final "try-out" before the curtain rises on the first performance; the actual scenery to be used is set and the cast appear in full costume with all the necessary properties.

The sinister implication of this remark is all the greater when it is remembered that both World War I and World War II had their rehearsals, the first in the Balkans, the second in Spain and Abyssinia.

It cannot be pleasant for the British wives and mothers to be told that their men are suffering mutilation and dying in an experiment for the next world war. In 1914 those at home were at least sustained, however mistakenly, by the idea that their grief and pain was in the cause of peace; in 1939 belief in a peaceful future when

once Germany was disarmed was constantly offered by statesmen and press alike.

Now cynicism has reached the utmost depths; no consolation is offered, no excuse made, no hope held out, only the explanation that the horrors of war in Korea are a useful training for those who survive and a valuable lesson for those who will conduct a full-scale war in the future.

And what of the Koreans? This "dress rehearsal" must seem to them uncommonly like the real performance. Their country has been twice fought over; their cities have been turned into heaps of rubble, and cemeteries for the dead; their land has been ploughed and furrowed by tanks and guns and high explosives; their homes have been destroyed by flames and jelled petrol, licking up not only the structure of buildings, but the flesh and bones of the inhabitants as well. A dire and deadly dress rehearsal indeed!

It is hard to credit that anyone, even a Field-Marshal, whose business it is to conduct wars, could speak of this unspeakably shocking and horrible experiment in human destruction, with anything but shame, let alone, as the British Defence Minister seems to, with complacency, and almost with pride.

If, added to this, the horrifying comment made by General van Fleet earlier in the year, that there "had to be a Korea," is to be accepted as true, then it seems it must also be accepted that all the talk of desire for a peaceful settlement has been so much humbug.

It is no doubt considered a "blessing" that these fearsome experiments in modern warfare have taken place in a "far off country" and not in Britain or the USA, but the Koreans can scarcely be expected to feel soothed and succoured by this baleful benediction.

It is obvious that a rehearsal for war need only be held if the curtain is to rise on a stage set for war; if the stage is set for peace then the anxious audience will one day see the curtain ring up, not on World War III, but on the first performance of World Peace.

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Sunday July 6 at 3 p.m.

"Britain — Bridge or Battlefield?"

EMRYS HUGHES, MP

Dr. ALEX COMFORT

VICTOR YATES, MP

STUART MORRIS

ROBERT HORNIMAN

(A YOUNG FATHER)

MONA BENTIN

(A YOUNG MOTHER)

SAM WALSH

(AN EX-SERVICEMAN)

Chairman SYBIL MORRISON

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No. 836

## Plan refer

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**T**HE WO: Nation history this to consider Peace Refer

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